



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

IV.—*On the Defacement of Divine and Royal Names on Egyptian Monuments.*  
*By the Rev. EDWARD HINCKS, D. D.*

Read February 26, 1844.

THERE is no subject connected with the Egyptian monuments on which greater diversity of opinion has existed, than the studious defacement of certain names, and portions of names, which many of them appear to have undergone. The first idea of Champollion was, that all these defacements occurred at one time, namely, that of the invasion of the Hyk Shos; but this was soon found to be erroneous, as the great majority of the names defaced were those of persons who lived subsequently to this invasion. Other opinions have been since advanced; but, as it appears to me, they are not such as a fair examination of the facts observed would lead to. I have, therefore, drawn up a memoir respecting these defacements, in which I refer the principal ones to four occasions, which I specify; and in which I mention the instances of defacement which have been observed, that belong to each of these occasions.

The first occasion of defacing a royal name was the dethronement or death of Queen Amuneth (fig. 1), the successor of Thothmos II. (fig. 2). This



Fig 1.



Fig. 2.

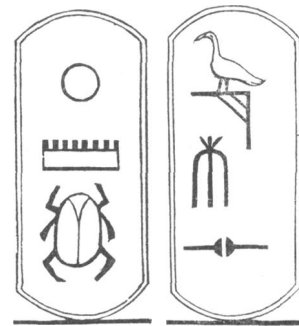


Fig. 3.

queen governed Egypt for about twenty-nine years, during which her brother, Thothmos III. (fig. 3), appears to have had no share in the sovereignty. He pos-

sessed, however, the title of king, and appears along with his sister on most of her monuments, as on the great obelisk at Karnac, and on the propylon at El-Assassif. It seems that the king was not satisfied with this state of things; and that on his attaining to the sole sovereignty he defaced the name of his sister in a variety of places. He sometimes left a blank space, as on the statue of Onevto in the British Museum, and on another statue in the Athanasi collection, the inscriptions on which have been copied by Mr. Bonomi and Mr. Sharpe.

In other instances, as on the propylon at El Assassif, he substituted either his own name, or that of his father, for that of his sister, adding a beard to the face of the latter. And as he himself was represented on this monument, in its original state, accompanying his sister, he defaced also his own original cartouche, inserting in it the name of his wife; so that he and his wife appeared to occupy the two places originally designed for his sister and himself. The changes, however, which would be necessary in order to reduce this monument from one of Queen Amuneth and her brother Thothmos III., to one of the latter exclusively, were more than could be carried into effect; and the ill-success of this attempt probably saved the great obelisk at Karnac from a similar defacement. The feminine pronoun remained unaltered, and its use in reference to a bearded figure completely mystified M. Champollion, leading him to adopt a theory respecting these royal cartouches, which, it appears from Mr. Birch's late publication, "The Gallery of Antiquities," has not yet been abandoned as involving a tissue of absurdities. M. Champollion has confounded two queens regnant, Amenset, who appears to have been grandmother to Thothmos II., and Amuneth, who was certainly posterior to him. Of these two he makes one queen, whom he supposes to be sister of this king. He gives her two imaginary husbands; one of the name of Thothmos, and another, to whom he assigns as a name the phonetic name of this queen herself, which he reads Amenenthe, and whom he supposes to have governed in her name as a regent. Lastly, he supposes Thothmos III. to have been the son of this queen by her first husband Thothmos. This theory has been adopted, with slight modifications, by all subsequent writers, including Sir J. G. Wilkinson, till I pointed out to the Royal Irish Academy in 1838, that the builder of the Karnac obelisks was not the mother but the sister of Thothmos III.; and that the long monumental reign of the latter king is to be attributed to the fact of his dating his years from the death of his father, while Manetho only

counted that portion of his monumental reign which elapsed after the death of his sister.

The second occasion of defacement was a change in the religious sentiments of Amenothph IV., which led him to deface all the monuments of his predecessors in which the name or figure of Amoun, or Mouth, occurred, including all royal or other names, of which this name of Amoun formed a part. This change of sentiment led him to alter his own name from Amenothph (fig. 4, *a*), to Vach-en-Aten (*b*); and in one instance, mentioned by M. Prisse, on one of the blocks of a ruined propylon at Karnac the new name is found cut over the former one. It is yet an unsettled point in what precise place in the chronological series this fanatical enemy of Amoun should stand. It is clear that he reigned after Amenothph III., because the name of that monarch has suffered defacement at his hands; but it is not likely that he was his immediate successor. He seems to have been the son of that king whose tomb is in the

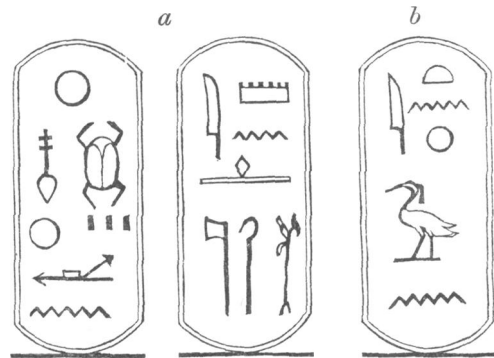


Fig. 4.

western valley along with that of Amenothph III., and who has been called Skhai. This was certainly *not* his real name; but as it is not easy to say what this last was, and as it has been generally given to him, I will retain it on this occasion. It seems to me that Skhai was the son, and Amenothph IV. the grandson of Amenothph III.; and that they reigned in Upper Egypt (fig. 5); while Horus, who was ultimately monarch of the whole country, reigned in Lower Egypt (fig. 6). All these monarchs bore the general titles denoting sovereignty over the two divi-



Fig. 5. Fig. 6.

sions of the country, which were words of course, and implied nothing; but the peculiar marks within the latter cartouche of each king signified over which part of Egypt he ruled, if he were not king of the whole. Thus Amenothph III. was in all his cartouches entitled King of Upper Egypt; while his brother Amun-tuonkh is always entitled king of Pone or Penne, that is, Lower Egypt. I believe the use of these two distinguishing marks to be, in every instance where they occur in a genuine cartouche, evidence that the king whose cartouche it

was only reigned over a part of Egypt,—evidence that there was another king in existence who bore the corresponding marks. If this can be established, it will lead to some conclusions of rather an extraordinary nature respecting the successors of Rameses the great ; and I will, therefore, digress a little in order to answer some objections that may be started .

In the first place, it will be said that fig. 6 (see the preceding page) is not “Lower Egypt,” but “Heliopolis.” To this I answer, that the mention of this place on the obelisks of Heliopolis only proves that that city was *in* Penne, which I do not deny. It is, however, extremely unlikely that Penne should be a *mere* city, seeing that Amuntuonkh, Horus, Rameses III., and other kings, are admitted to be generally called “Kings of Penne.” But that Penne was really a tract of country, extending northward to the Mediterranean Sea, is placed beyond a doubt by the Sallier MS. No. 2, in the British Museum, in which the Areku en Penne, or “extremities of Penne,” are frequently mentioned ; and in one instance are named, along with Ebo or Elephantine, as the opposite limits of Egypt, at the time of which the MS. speaks. Secondly, it will be said that Rameses III. could not have been King of Lower Egypt, as this theory would make him, because his palace was in Thebes. To this I answer, that the division between the two kingdoms may have varied at different times, and that it is possible that, in this instance, Rameses III. may have governed the western half of Thebes and all Egypt northward of Thebes ; while his partner in the government held the eastern half of Thebes, and all Egypt to the south of Thebes, with Nubia and Meroe. Thirdly, it may be objected that, in the cartouches of the early Amenothphs, who were kings of the entire of Egypt, the same distinguishing marks, King of Kheme(?) or the pure country(?), i. e. of Upper Egypt, are found. To this I answer, no such distinguishing marks are ever found in any *genuine* cartouche of either Amenothph I. or Amenothph II. The cartouches in which they occur are all restorations by Horus and subsequent monarchs, of cartouches of these kings, which were wholly defaced by the sun worshippers ; and the insertion of these distinguishing marks is to be attributed to the ignorance or carelessness of the sculptors, who inserted in their cartouches characters which properly belonged only to Amenothph III. A plain proof of this is to be found in an examination of the obelisk of Amenothph II. in the Alnwick Museum. In the pyramidion of this obelisk, the genuine cartouche of this king remains

(fig. 7, *a*), and is without the distinguishing marks; but in the vertical hieroglyphics, the name has been defaced, and the restored name, *b*, bears the distinguishing marks which do not properly belong to this monarch.

The defacements made by order of this monarch may be reduced to three classes. 1st. Those which were never restored; the name of Amoun having been hammered away, and remaining so still. Such is the case with the lesser obelisks at Karnac, in which the name of the god Ammon and his figure are completely defaced, though the name of the king, Thothmos, by whom they were dedicated to him, is uninjured.\* A stele of Mr. Harris's, in which a deceased person of the name of Amenothph is commemorated, has the name defaced in four several places; and in the statue in the Athanasi collection, already referred to as having suffered by the first defacement, the name Mouth, which forms part of the name of the deceased person for whom the statue was erected, is repeatedly hammered at, though in general ineffectually.

2. The second class of defacements made by the sun worshipper are those in which he himself altered the name that he defaced to another. This he did in the case of his own name, as already mentioned, and in that of his grandfather(?), Amenothph III., in which he frequently substituted a repetition of the prænomen for the obliterated name. At a subsequent period the name of Amenothph was restored, being cut over the repeated prænomen. I am aware that Sir J. S. Wilkinson makes a somewhat different statement of the facts observed. He alleges that the repeated prænomen was what was originally cut; and that only one change took place, which, he thinks, was in the reign of Amenothph himself, namely, the substitution of the phonetic name for the repeated prænomen. I am persuaded, however, that, in many cases, the repeated prænomen is itself a substitution for the phonetic name. A careful examination of the stone proves that it is less elevated where this repeated prænomen occurs than in other parts; nor do the two prænomens appear, if closely examined, to be the work of the

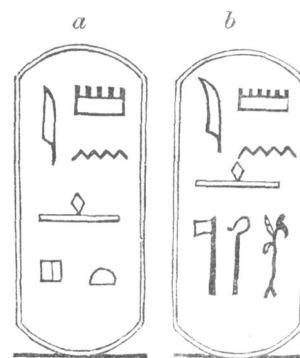


Fig. 7.

\* Burton, Exc. Hier. pl. 29.

same sculptor. I believe that this is the case in every instance where the prænomen is repeated; but if Sir J. S. Wilkinson be right in his supposition, the conclusion which I should draw is this:—Amenothph III., in his old age, became a proselyte to sun worship, in the same manner as his successors at Thebes; he abandoned his name, using in his later monuments a repetition of his prænomen in place of it. These monuments, consequently, escaped the hostile chisel of his grandson; but on the Ammon worshippers recovering the pre-eminence, as they did under Horus and his family, the name of Amenothph was restored in these cases, as well as in the cases where it had formerly existed and been defaced.

3. The third class of defacements made by the sun worshippers is, perhaps, the most numerous of any; at least it contains the most important monuments. It consists of those in which the defacements made by the sun worshippers were restored to their original state, or nearly so, by subsequent monarchs. Among these monuments may be named the great Lateran obelisk at Rome, the largest now in existence, on which (as Mr. Bonomi has pointed out) the figures and name of Amoun are lower than those of the king, and sculptured in a different style. I cannot, however, agree with Mr. Bonomi, that, on this obelisk, it is evident that “Amon usurps the place of some divinity who preceded him, and whose figure or titles have been scrupulously erased to make room for his rival.” The contrary appears quite evident to me; the name and figure of Ammon were erased by one party, the sun worshippers, and restored by another, the Ammon worshippers of the family of Horus and Rameses. The same thing has happened with respect to the great obelisks at Karnac; the figures and names of Ammon were obliterated and have been restored. Here, however, we know the name of the king who restored them, viz. Menephthah I., who has inscribed his name on one of the faces of the obelisk as “its restorer.”\* A like defacement and restoration have befallen the Alnwick obelisk of Amenothph II., as already noticed; here, however, it is confined to a single name; and a close examination of the monuments in Upper Egypt and Nubia, anterior to the reign of Horus, would probably add greatly to the list of restorations.

\* I have never seen a copy of the inscriptions on the base of the Lateran obelisk. They are said, however, to be of the age of Rameses II.; and they probably commemorate the restoration of the monument by that monarch.

The third occasion of defacement was the overthrow of the sun worshippers, and restoration of the worship of Ammon, under Horus. At this time all the monuments of Skhai and his son were defaced, the tomb of the former being shamefully violated. The defacements of Gebel Tounh and El Tell took place now, as well as the overthrow of those monuments at Karnac, the blocks of which were used by Horus and Menephthah I., in the construction of their several edifices.

Two monuments in European collections appear to have suffered during this defacement. One is a stele in the Athanasi collection, dated in the first of Chœac in the fourth year of the reign of a king, both whose cartouches are defaced, but whose banner is preserved; and from the resemblance which it bears to the banner of Skhai, as it is exhibited in his tomb, there can be little doubt that the king spoken of is Amenothph IV. At this time he had not commenced his hostility to Ammon, whose name appears on this stele. At Gebel Tounh we have a date thirty-two months later, viz. on the thirteenth of Mesore of his sixth year. He had then assumed a new banner, along with his new phonetic name of Vachenaten. The sculptures at El Tell are probably three or four years later, as he appears there with four children, while he has only two at Gebel Tounh. This remark is due to M. l'Hôte. The other defacement which I attribute to this occasion is that on a lion in the British Museum, presented by Lord Prudhoe. One of the two lions was executed in the reign of Amenothph III.; the other, which bears the obliterated cartouches, is evidently of later date, and must have been the work either of Skhai or of his son. I say this is *evident*, because the inscription on the lion is to this effect: "The king with the defaced cartouches has renovated the monument of *his father*, Amenothph III." Dr. Leemans supposes that the defaced cartouches are those of Horus, and that the erasure was made by an Ethiopian monarch, with a view to insert his own name in their room. It is, however, unlikely that such an intention should be entertained; and it is still more unlikely that, if the names of the Egyptian king were erased with that intention, the Ethiopian king should not have completed his work. There does not appear any objection to the theory that the obliterated cartouches are those of Amenothph IV., he having executed the work before he changed his religious principles, and, consequently, while he still retained that name.

The fourth occasion of defacement in Egyptian monuments was the hostility



to the god Seth, otherwise called Nahas or Noubti, which arose in the minds of the Egyptian priests at some time, and from some cause, which are yet unknown. This led to the defacement of all those monuments of the kings of the eighteenth dynasty, in which he was represented as a beneficent god, and to the defacement of his name when an element in that of a king, as it was in the names of Menephthah I. and Menephthah III., whose true names are Sethei or Nahasei, implying devotion to this god. The most remarkable instances of this defacement are in the statues of Menephthah III. at London and Turin; in the name of Menephthah I. on the Flaminian obelisk, where the figure of the god has been altered to that of the sun in some places, while in others it has been left untouched; and in both names at Karnac.

In the ritual, Seth is always spoken of as the evil principle; and this appears to me as one strong argument among many for assigning the composition of this work to a later age than the eighteenth dynasty. Detached chapters may, no doubt, be traced to the early part of that dynasty; but I am not aware that any manuscript exists, to which so great an antiquity can be assigned with any plausibility.

It remains to point out the dates of the three first of these defacements. The first is about 1325 B. C., according to the depressed chronology which I have advocated in my last paper. It would be 1740 B. C., according to Rossellini. The second defacement was about eighty years later than this, and the third not many years subsequent to the second. The earliest limit of the last of the four defacements is 1100 B. C., according to the depressed chronology, or about 1500, B. C., according to Rossellini.

I cannot conclude without requesting that those who have an opportunity of examining Egyptian monuments will pay particular attention to the traces of defacement which they may exhibit. The subject is far from being exhausted. I have mentioned, I believe, the only four instances of any importance which occur in early Egyptian history. Other instances, however, occur at a later date; after the Ethiopian usurpation, under the Ptolemies, and under the Cæsars. One of the latest names sculptured on the monuments, that of Geta, has suffered defacement. But even if all the occasions of defacement were known, it would be interesting to collect fresh instances of each; and, not to speak of travelling in Egypt, a person can scarcely enter a large Egyptian museum in

Europe, without having an opportunity of detecting defacements which have probably escaped the notice of its curators. In the case of undated monuments, these defacements, and the restorations by which they have sometimes been followed, will often be quite sufficient to determine the age of the monument ; in all cases, they are extremely interesting, as testing the accuracy of past discoveries, and exercising the student in a branch of investigation which he may have an opportunity of employing with profit at a future period.